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NATIONAL MISSION PAMPHLETS—A



THE KINGDOM OF GOD IS AT HAND
REPENT YE AND BELIEVE THE GOSPEL

The Call of the Kingdom

By the
REV. W. TEMPLE

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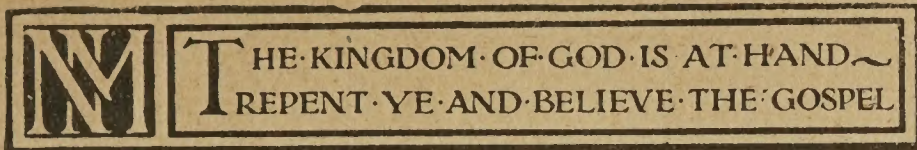
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The Call of the Kingdom

By THE REV. W. TEMPLE

NOT very long before the outbreak of war Mr Neville Talbot pointed out the peril involved in that easy belief in a sort of automatic progress which was characteristic of much nineteenth-century thinking. If the world was moving forwards of its own accord, there seemed to be little need for a Gospel of Redemption : and the Church with its offer of salvation "was bound to look like a fire-brigade proffering its services where houses were not alight." The houses are alight now. No one now doubts that the world needs redemption. The Church's opportunity is come. Will it make use of it ?

HEROISM AND PAROCHIALISM

The most conspicuous fact about the whole situation is the capacity for heroism in our people which the war has revealed. Few of us would have predicted that in response to a great crisis a readiness so complete for service and sacrifice among both men and women would be found. No doubt the Church may claim much credit for the existence of this spirit. The steady, patient, persistent work carried on in towns and villages here finds its fruit. Yet we have to face the fact that the Church itself has never elicited this readiness to serve and share. Entrusted with the most inspiring of all causes, it has not evoked heroism in the service of that cause in a manner at all comparable with the response won by the nation. When, at the beginning of the war, we were confronted with the poster—"Every fit man

wanted"—all of us who were competent for military service knew that we must respond or be ready with a justification to our conscience for not doing so. The call to every member of the Christian Church is just as plain and has been staring us in the face for all these centuries: "Go ye and make disciples of all the nations." But few of us feel that as a personal challenge. We have thought that the evangelisation of the world was a task to which some few oddly constituted people are called, while for ourselves the sphere of our Christianity was our personal life, and perhaps our parish and immediate neighbourhood. This prevailing attitude of ours is a betrayal of the faith and results in a disastrous weakening of our appeal.

It is a betrayal of the faith; for it ignores the claim of our Master to a world-wide authority. It is connected with the state of mind which wonders whether, though Christianity is the best for us, Mohammedanism may not be the best for Arabs and Hinduism for Indians. But Christianity does not offer itself to us as a drug, which may be medicinal to one sort of disease and poisonous to another. It offers itself as the truth, which, if true at all, is true everywhere. Whether we take it or leave it is not a matter of indifference, for it does not offer itself to us for our inspection and judgment; it comes to us, and by our acceptance or rejection of it we are judged. "He that falleth on this stone shall be broken to pieces: but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will scatter him as dust." The Deity of our Lord is either a fact or not; if it is not, our faith is vain; if it is, we are entrusted with a proclamation to the world and are false disciples if we fail to make it. "All authority hath been given unto Me in heaven and on earth. Go ye *therefore* and make disciples of all the nations."

It is in the recovery of this world-wide outlook that we shall find the inspiration which will carry our appeal to the consciences and wills of those—often the best among us—who are left utterly unmoved by parochial concerns and a religion whose apparent goal is a personal salvation. In this there is no appeal to the heroic

element ; but the Gospel of the Kingdom which our Lord proclaimed is the appeal of a Hero to the heroism of His followers.

Moreover, the war is forcing upon us our responsibility for the honour of Christ before the world. Every circumstance of our time drives home the claim that as individuals, as a nation, and as an empire, we should dedicate ourselves to the service of the world-wide Kingdom of God.

THE CITY SET ON A HILL

Some of the considerations which make plain this special call to us are rather intensified than created by the war. Owing to the extent of our empire we are of necessity the most conspicuous of Christian nations in the eyes of the unconverted world. In this place or that no doubt others are more in evidence ; but, taking the world as a whole, we are the most conspicuous. It is inevitable that the unconverted peoples should watch our manner of life to see what Christianity in fact works out at. Our sons who go to the various parts of the earth, whether as administrators, as soldiers, or as traders, are taken by the inhabitants as samples of a Christian civilisation ; and this is fair enough, for though they may have repudiated all Church-membership and be utterly void of religious belief, they are the measure of the Church's success or failure.

In a similar way, those who come to our own country from unconverted lands will inevitably regard our whole manner of life as representative of the practical result of a belief in Christianity which has endured for many centuries. Imagine a thoughtful Hindu or Confucian student, who had studied the classical literature of various religions and had been fascinated by the moral and spiritual sublimity of the New Testament ; imagine him coming to England full of curiosity to see a country whose social and industrial life has been shaped by the age-long belief that all men are brothers because children of one Father, and arriving in the summer just before the war. He would have found us living in a state which,

now that we look back from such moral elevation as the war has brought us, has the appearance of hideous nightmare: materialism and self-indulgence rampant; civil war imminent in Ireland; preparations far advanced for a labour war on an unprecedented scale; and, with all these calamities threatening, a foolish and superficial contentment and pleasure-hunt as the most obvious feature in nearly all sections of society. The Judgment Day has for the moment checked our wicked folly. But would not such an Oriental visitor as we conceived be driven to the conclusion that, beautiful as is the Christian ideal, it supplies no power for its own realisation? Assuredly the facts rivet on us the verdict of St Paul upon his own countrymen: "The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you."

So it was before the war. Is it still to be so after the war? For if the war ends as we are determined, if God will, that it shall end, we shall more than ever be the most conspicuous of Christian nations. Christ has made us in a peculiar manner trustees for His honour before the nations. Shall we continue to drag His honour in the mire by our infidelity, letting our conduct convict of hypocrisy our prayer that the Name of God may be hallowed on earth as it is in heaven?

OUR REPUDIATION OF TREITSCHKE

But the war not only strengthens the old arguments, it brings new ones to bear. One of the main objects for which we are now fighting is to prevent any accession of influence to that doctrine, so widely prevalent in Germany, which regards the national State as the highest thing in the world, as owing no allegiance, and therefore as free from all moral obligation, so that it may ignore all moral rules as it pursues its ends, and its citizens in serving it are performing the highest of duties and should consider no moral principles which would hamper their service of the State. Most Englishmen first met this doctrine in the pages of Bernhardt; but it was Treitschke who gave it its great vogue in Germany. When we heard of it we repudiated it with indignant

horror ; and the horror and indignation have only been intensified as we have realised to what conduct acceptance of the doctrine leads. But if we repudiate the doctrine that the national State is the highest thing in the world, we are at once involved in the assertion that there is something higher, which the State itself therefore exists to serve ; and there is not even a claimant for that position except the Kingdom of God which Christ proclaimed and founded. If we are really to achieve the end for which we are fighting, we must dedicate our whole nation to the service of that world-wide Kingdom.

THE NATURE OF OUR EMPIRE

Not only the nation, but the empire also. It is possible to regret that the word " empire " was ever used of the British Dominions. It suggests that our " empire " is just one more in the line of succession with Assyria, Babylon, Macedonia, and Rome. But it is nothing of the kind. It is a wholly new fact ; there has been nothing at all like it in the world before. The Germans noticed before the war that we held it in a very light grasp ; they seem to have thought that if they could, as it were, shake our hand, it would drop out and lie there for them to pick up. And then they found out (which does not matter), but we also found out (which matters a great deal), that we were not holding it at all ; it was holding on to us. There is no sort of reason for the British Empire's continued existence except the desire of its component parts that it should exist. If Canada wished to join the United States we could not stop her. If Australia wished to " cut the painter " and assert her independence, we could not stop her. Even India, though she looks forward to taking control of her own destiny, would rather be a member of this empire than accept any alternative actually open to her. But most remarkable of all is South Africa. The attitude of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand might be accounted for by the fact that they are united to us by ties of race and sentiment. But South Africa is largely, if not pre-

dominantly, Dutch by race and sentiment. That the Dutch general who so lately led his people in war against our empire should have been now winning victories on its behalf is as significant a fact as any in the secular history of mankind ; for it is the proof, once and for all, of the possibility of that free family of States whose establishment shall at last be the guarantee of the world's peace. However far off the realisation of that ideal may be, what has happened in South Africa is proof of its possibility.

But all this means that the root principle of the British Empire is Liberty. It is, in fact, the greatest achievement of Liberty hitherto. This fact has been obscured by the unfortunate circumstance that those among us who have talked most about the empire have not seemed to care much for the development of Liberty at home, while those who have worked for Liberty have not seemed to care about the empire. Yet so it is ; the empire rests on Liberty ; it exists because its component parts desire that it should. That is a new kind of empire altogether. Never before has there been a confederacy of free States, separated by vast oceans, held together by mutual goodwill.

Our empire rests on Liberty ; but this is also the root principle, on the human side, of that Kingdom which Christ came to proclaim and found. At the beginning of His ministry our Lord repudiated the only ways that there are of controlling men's conduct otherwise than by securing the free allegiance of their hearts and wills. He would not use His power for the satisfaction of creature comforts ; He would not force men into His obedience ; and He would not overpower their intellects with irresistible evidence. He would not, that is to say, either bribe them or coerce them, or convince them against their will. But He would live before men the life of Perfect Love and die before them a death of Perfect Love, so drawing them to Himself. In other words, His Kingdom on its human side rests on freedom. There is, then, a real affinity in root principle between what we call the British Empire and the Kingdom of God itself.

Our empire has many great and glaring faults which need to be purged away, but it is the first great world-wide political structure which has rested on this spiritual foundation. It is ready as no other empire has been for the consecrating touch.

We must not take to ourselves credit for this characteristic of the empire; no one ever planned it; it just grew. Those who believe that the history of mankind is governed by the providence of God will inevitably become convinced that God has here made for Himself an instrument which is put into our hands to use. Like all opportunities it is also a responsibility, but the realisation which has come to us during the war of what our empire really is constitutes a new call to dedicate ourselves individually and corporately to the service of the Kingdom of God.

RE-ACTION ON WORK AT HOME

If we can succeed in securing this world-wide outlook the result will be apparent immediately in all our work. We know that at present very many of just the best men and women find little that appeals to them in the Church; they think we are concerned with a tiresome round of trifling good works. Certainly most of those who are not members of the Church, if asked what they supposed it was for, would say in one way or another that it was a mutual benefit society, an association of people who gathered together to strengthen themselves in certain convictions which they held, and to join in offering worship of the kind that appealed to their taste. But the Church is the Body of Christ—the Body of Him Who came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give His life. Its own life is nourished with His broken Body and His Blood outpoured. It exists to sacrifice itself for the Redemption of the world in the power of that life which flows through all the members from the Head. If people felt that this is really the aim and nature of the Church's life, it would have an appeal to them, and to that which is best in them, which is now conspicuously lacking. One does not find many "Sons

of Thunder " in the gatherings of the Church ; one does not hear them explode with ungovernable passion at parochial meetings of the C.E.M.S. We are all very proper and respectable ; and we are most of us thinking of our own lives or at the most of our own neighbourhood ; there is little inspiration in that. People sometimes say that we must aim at the smaller thing first and rise from it to the large thing. That is a mistake. There is a conversation recorded somewhere as having taken place between a great English statesman and Cavour. The Englishman said " Why do you aim at anything so great as the unity of Italy ? You can never reach it. Why not concentrate on something practicable, such as the reform of the Kingdom of Naples ? " Cavour answered : " I cannot get the reform of Naples because no one is ready to die for it ; I can get the unity of Italy because thousands of Italians are ready to die for it." That was the true wisdom. The big thing is always more practicable than the little thing because it creates the enthusiasm needed for its accomplishment. It will be far more possible to evangelise the world, and England with it, than to raise the spiritual level of England by one or two degrees. Moreover, if we can secure this wider outlook it will remove from our work a reproach which is one of our greatest obstacles. All who have done parochial work of any kind, such for example as temperance work, know that those to whom they come are often thinking, as some of them also say, " You live your way, and let me live mine." In other words, they regard us as rather impertinent and interfering. No one felt like that when Lord Kitchener wrote his letter to the troops at the beginning of the war, and that for the simple reason that Lord Kitchener was not trying to do anybody good. Having good done to one is a thing which all healthily constituted people loathe and detest above everything else in the world. Lord Kitchener was saying in effect, " We are needed for the service of a cause which will require all our faculties at their fullest stretch ; you must therefore discipline yourselves in order to be fit to serve that cause." When the Church is able to ap-

peal to men to regulate their lives, not for their own sake, but for the service of the world-wide cause, it will meet with a response for many centuries unknown. As we go about our parochial work we shall have all the stimulus of realising that while our own job must be in a particular place, what is at stake the whole while is the prosperity or disaster of the greatest cause in the world.

THE VISION OF THE KING

As we get this new outlook in our work we shall also win what many of us have lacked—the faith in Christ as an heroic leader. We have thought of Him so much as meek and gentle that there is no ground in our picture of Him for the vision which His disciple had of Him :

His head and His hair were white, as white wool, white as snow ; and His eyes were as a flame of fire ; and His feet like unto burnished brass, as if it had been refined in a furnace ; and His voice as the voice of many waters. And He had in His right hand seven stars ; and out of His mouth proceeded a sharp two-edged sword ; and His countenance was as the sun shineth in its strength. And when I saw Him, I fell at His feet as one dead.

And yet in the story there is abundant ground for this conception of Him. Let us recall especially that scene which must have been imprinted on St Peter's imagination, and is preserved for us in St Mark's Gospel. " They were in the way going up to Jerusalem, and Jesus went before them and they were amazed ; and as they followed Him they were afraid." We see Him striding on with His face set hard and something in His bearing which bewilders and terrifies the disciples as they follow. For He is marching on to the place of His sacrifice and knows what awaits Him, and the disciples—that is, ourselves—must follow in wonder and fear. In wonder, because we do not know what He will do with us ; and in fear, because if Christianity has never frightened us we have not found out what it is.

When the assault is ordered the soldier must not stop to think what likelihood there is that he will come through ; what happens to him does not matter, and he knows that it does not matter ; all that matters is the success of the movement. That is the spirit required

of us in discipleship to Christ and service of His Kingdom. His appeal is the appeal of all the heroes of all the ages.

In 1848 a little republic was founded in Rome to stand for justice and purity of government amid the corrupt States all round. It was attacked by those States and at last it yielded; on the day when the capitulation was signed, masses of people were gathered together in the great Piazza outside St. Peter's, and there rode among them the man whose faith and heroism had sustained that siege for more weeks than the wise-
acres thought it could last days. When the cheering had subsided, he made no acknowledgment, but simply said :

I am going out from Rome. I offer neither quarters, nor provisions, nor wages. I offer hunger, thirst, forced marches, battles, death. Let him who loves his country with his heart, not with his lips only, follow me.

And they streamed out after him into the hills. His name was Garibaldi; and because of his heroism and theirs, there is a kingdom of Italy in the world to-day.

But the invitation of Christ is in exactly that spirit :
"I offer neither quarters, nor provision, nor wages. I offer hunger, thirst, forced marches, battles, death."
"If any man would come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me."

But we have altered the meaning of self-denial; we have made self into a dative and we think of denying this or that to ourselves. So one may meet people who speak of giving up the use of sugar or tobacco as self-denial. But that is not denying oneself; it is denying sugar or tobacco. When our Lord used this phrase it was one of His own most tremendous paradoxes : "If any man would come after Me, let him say he is not there, let him set about it as if he had no interest or rights that even could be considered, and let him put the rope round his neck and be ready for just anything." The spirit that has responded to the nation's call for service will respond also to this call if the Church will again make it.

Let me sum up what I am trying to say by throwing

into my own language a fable which I take from the masterpiece of Dostoevsky, the most Russian of Russian novelists.

In the days of the Inquisition, this fable runs, our Lord returned to earth, and visited a city where it was at work. As He moved about, men forgot their cares and sorrows. He healed the sick folk as of old, and meeting with a funeral procession where a mother was mourning the loss of her only son, He stopped the procession, and restored the dead boy to life.

That was in the Cathedral Square, and at that moment there came out from the cathedral doors the Grand Inquisitor, an old man over ninety years of age, clad now not in the Cardinal's robe in which only the day before he had condemned a score of heretics to the stake, but in a simple cassock, with only two guards in attendance. Seeing what was done, he turned to the guards and said, "Arrest Him." They moved forward to obey; and he sent the Prisoner to a cell in the dungeon.

That night the Grand Inquisitor visited his Prisoner, and to all that he said the Prisoner made no reply. "I know why Thou art come," said the Inquisitor; "Thou art come to spoil our work, to repeat Thy great mistake in the wilderness, and to give men again Thy fatal gift of freedom through trust in the power of love. What did the great wise spirit offer Thee there? Just the three things by which men may be controlled—bread and authority and mystery. He bade Thee take bread as the instrument of Thy work; men will follow one who gives them bread. But Thou wouldest not; men were to follow Thee out of love and devotion or not at all. We have had to correct Thy work, or there would be few to follow Thee. He bade Thee assume authority; men will obey one who gives commands, and punishes the disobedient. But Thou wouldest not; men were to obey out of love and devotion or not at all. We have had to correct Thy work, or there would be few to obey Thee. He bade Thee show some marvel that men might be persuaded and believe. But Thou wouldest not; men were to believe from perception of Thy grace and

truth or not at all. We have had to correct Thy work and hedge Thee about with mystery, or there would be few to believe. And which of us has served mankind better? Thy appeal was to the few strong souls. We have cared for the weak. Many who would be disorderly and miserable have been made orderly and happy. And now Thou art come to spoil our work and repeat Thy great mistake in the wilderness by giving to men again the fatal gift of freedom through trust in the power of love. But it shall not be; for to-morrow I shall burn Thee."

The Grand Inquisitor ceased; and still the Prisoner made no reply; but He rose from where He sat, and crossed the cell, and kissed the old man on his bloodless lips. Then the Inquisitor too, rose, and opened the door. "Go," he said. The Prisoner passed out into the night and was not seen again.

And the old man? That kiss burns in his heart. But he has not altered his opinion or his practice.

There the great Russian prophet left it, before the war; but there we must not leave it, after the war. We in whose hearts burns the kiss of Christ and who have seen the destruction that men bring upon themselves if they will not heed His call, we must give ourselves in a new dedication and devotion to His service and the service of His Kingdom; and then, as through the faith and heroism of Garibaldi and his followers there is a Kingdom of Italy in the world to-day, so through our response to the appeal of Christ there shall be a Kingdom of God in the world to-morrow.



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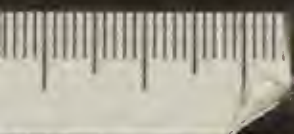
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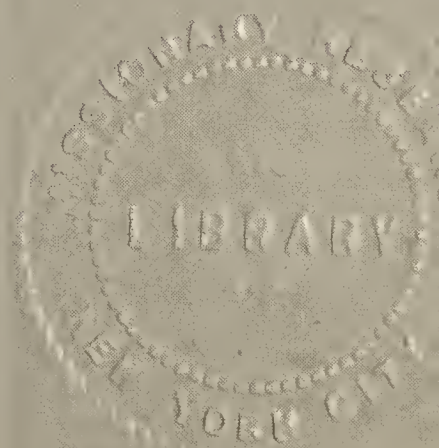
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*I Speak Again
as A Christian*

DOROTHY THOMPSON



This speech was delivered by Miss Thompson at the South Central Conference Palestine held in St. Louis on January 11, 1945, under the auspices of the American Christian Palestine Committee. It supplements her previous address, "Speak as a Christian," delivered in New York in November 1943.

IT HAS often been said that this is a people's war. Yet, as the war unfolds and we become engrossed with the movements of armies, now on the seas and islands of the South Pacific, now in Eastern Europe, and now in the vast and bloody battle at the German gates; as all these things fill the newspapers which we read daily, I greatly fear that we tend to lose sight of the issues over which this war is fought—chief among them the very future of human beings on this planet.

It is my hope, though at times my faith wavers, that the hideous era through which we now live, represents but the labor and birth pangs of a new and better epoch. That it will be *new* is certain. Whether it will be better depends on our wisdom and energy. We are seeing the disintegration of political and economic forms that have failed to satisfy the sense of justice and the urgent necessities of the vast masses of people all over the world.

Anti-Semitism always rises in times of crisis when men have not yet found the solution they seek, are not yet on the clear path to a new epoch, and are engaged in blaming each other for the sad death of the world to which they have become accustomed. Who is to blame? That is the universal cry! And the easiest answer is: The Jews.

Why particularly the Jews?

I do not know the answer; I can only guess at it on the basis of such powers of reason and observation as I possess. Yet the answer evades reason because it is in a sphere where reason does not function. Men are aware of a ferment in the world, and the ferment requires an easy explanation to most minds. It must be due to human intervention, men think; it must be the result of a conspiracy. As we have seen, it is due to quite other causes. But man is anthropomorphic. One cannot get up a riot against science, which, at the same time that it is disorganizing the century, is curing our

children, abolishing plagues, turning our wheels, and showering us with luxuries. Yet the great ferment and upset of our world is largely due to science. No, some *men* must be responsible for this ferment—so argues the average man. What men? What men are there amongst us who are almost like us but not quite like us? How easy to say: The Jews!

For the Jews *are* a people. One can argue about this to the end of time, but the Jews feel themselves to have a peculiar social inheritance, and non-Jews observe the same thing. For the Gentile world there is something distinctly about the Jews. They are a people who share certain religious observances; who express a certain solidarity amongst themselves. True, this can be observed of many other groups. The members of the Roman Catholic Church have a solidarity transcending nation; the Irish, both through and outside the Church, have group loyalties. But the Jews—so feels a part of the Gentile world—are different. They are not merely a religion but a people. Yet they live an abnormal life—abnormal as compared with the rest of the world. They live in many countries, but have no country of their own. There is something wrong with them—therefore they are to blame.

If anti-Semitism is not new, its nature today is unique. There have been anti-Semitic movements in the world before. Russian pogroms under the Tsars are alive in the memory of many. But the Jewish persecution of our era is peculiar. The brand of anti-Semitism which Hitler has introduced to the world is based on the assumption that the Jews haven't the right to live on this planet. They are, according to Hitler, the source of all evil, the genesis of all maladjustments in society. In short, they are a corporate devil that must be exorcised. This anti-Semitism is not directed against the so-called ghetto Jew alone, but against the Jewish race as such—against the Jew who has retained his religion, against the Jew who has discarded it, against the conscious Jew, the converted Jew, the assimilated Jew, and even the partial Jew.

The mass slaughter of the Jews in the past few years has exterminated Jews of every Nazi-held country, poor and rich, German and Pole, Zionist and assimilationist. Distinctions which Jews might recognize among themselves have been ignored by Hitler. The terrible thing about Hitler's promise to annihilate the Jews is that he has kept this more successfully than any other of his promises.

At last the extent of the horror that has been visited upon the Jews has begun to penetrate the imagination of the free world. The process of humiliation and destruction has been going on for twelve years, but the reaction has until now been negative. First, there was indifference. Then there was compassion. Perhaps now there will be action—as there needs to be.

Refugees and the Democracies

The tragedy of the democracies on this problem is that their words are lofty, their gestures noble, but their deeds lag far behind. In the pre-war years when the need for remedial action was so urgent, the democracies seemed paralyzed and unable to mobilize the enormous resources they possess. Today they are unable to help the European Jews except by force of arms.

Two years ago a small group of men met in Bermuda for an Anglo-American conference to examine the possibilities of aiding the European refugees, among whom the Jews occupy the position of chief sufferers from Nazi ferocity. These men have tried to transform the lofty words sounded in the United Nations declaration of December 1942 into deeds that would rescue victims and set them on the road that will restore them to security and freedom. But the net result seems to have been to transfer some thousand of the most threatened to temporary haven here.

The Bermuda conference underscored a point I have often made during the years that the refugee problem mounted in scope and tragedy. Too long the refugee problem has been largely regarded as one of international charity. It must be regarded now, and in the coming years, as a problem of international politics.

No democratic country can wash its hands of this problem of the doomed Jews if it wishes to retain its own soul. This war is not fought for the rescue of Jews. Neither was the Civil War fought to end slavery but rather to save the Union. Yet, as Lincoln said “These slaves contributed a powerful interest,” as Hitler’s massacres and slaveries have. The very essence of the democratic principle is humanistic; it involves respect for human dignity and human personality; it implies a revulsion against persecution of indi-

exhausted by weariness or by callousness, then the democratic principle will surely die. It is impossible to divorce Democracy from Christendom. At the root of both is the concept of human dignity. And human dignity derives wholly from the concept of God and of man as His child and ward. It is perfectly true that the problem was created by Hitler and not by the democracies. The burden is not of our making, but nevertheless it is impossible for us not to accept the burden put upon us. Without a belief in the dignity of man, without indignation against arbitrarily created human suffering and the willingness to overcome it, there is no democratic spirit. With these ideas are integrated the fundamental concepts of civilization, the thesis of the Four Freedoms. And so we must be moved not merely by pity for these Jews in this most brutal world, but by the need to reaffirm our own beliefs, to take a stand for them, to recapture the ground which our indifference has lost, lest our precepts become hollow dogmas to which, at last, not even lip service will be given anywhere.

A defeatist attitude toward the refugee problem, created by the opponents of democracy, becomes a defeatist attitude toward our own principles.

Why the Zionists Are Right

In considering the nature and the solution of the Jewish problem, one fundamental factor must be kept in the forefront. The Jews *are* a people. To ignore that fact is to miss the point of the abnormality of the Jewish position.

I believe that as long as the Jews do not have a country of their own, built by themselves and expressing their own peculiar culture and way of life, there will continue to exist a common superstition about them in the Gentile world. I am convinced that the root of anti-Semitism is superstition. I do not mean the cheap and common anti-Semitism which merely arises from a desire to wield a cudgel against an able competitor, or the social anti-Semitism which leads pure Anglo-Saxons of ancient lineage to snub others who have not been in the country as long as they, or speak with an accent, or eat food flavored with garlic. When I was a child, living in an almost purely Anglo-Saxon community, I was on the periphery because

few Jews than against the Polacks, the Wops, or the Heimes. I believe this kind of club spirit is probably ineradicable in the human race, though it will diminish when and if the human race abandons the cannibalism of the present economic and power systems, and ceases to live by devouring each other.

But this is not what I mean by the anti-Semitism that has flared so cruelly, disastrously and erratically in our time. This new anti-Semitism, which is nevertheless very old and always characteristic of crisis—which flared, for instance, at a time when the culture and economy of the Middle Ages was yielding to the Renaissance—is the result of superstition. The Jews are a *doomed* race, think more fortunate people—doomed to be homeless. That must be the result of some Sin committed.

The whole anti-Semitic movement is full of fetish and black magic. It is a kind of modern witchcraft. Back of this black magic is the fact that, in the framework of human society as it is organized on this earth, the Jews *do* lead an abnormal life. They are a cohesive people without a place on earth of their own. That fact gives them, in the superstitious mind, an atmosphere of doom. An atmosphere of doom produces an atmosphere of fear. Jewish life must, therefore, be *normalized*.

That is why I believe the Zionists are right. I believe that Jewry must have a home and a state, in order that the life of Jewry shall be normalized to the life of all other men on this planet. When that happens, and when a few generations have passed, the problem of “assimilation” will solve itself. For then a man of Jewish inheritance can very simply decide whether he is or is not a Jew. He will be able to change his religion if his conscience so dictates and his Jewish race-consciousness, also, without abandoning his people and feeling that he is traitorous. For his people will be represented, as all other peoples are represented, by what they as an integrated and responsible community are able to show as their unique culture.

I am not a nationalist, though I trust I am a patriot. I believe the world is slowly but inexorably moving toward greater unity. But that unity will not express itself, I profoundly hope, in some great universal empire or super-state, but in the idea of Neighborhood, of the Good Neighbor, of federation, of supra-national institutions for those things which are by nature supra-national, such as currency, mutual protection and control of the air and seaways. But as one does not attempt to build a state by first

also, as I see it, a part of the revolutionary upheavals of our world. As long as imperialism is still flourishing, and the world of the peoples is not aligned, fear and panic will attend every new venture. There will one day, I trust, be a united Arabian world, self-governing and free of imperialist interference. In that world a Jewish homeland can exist. Palestine, which before the last war was subject to the Sultan, was, and is, a mixed state. Arabs and Jews are there and there to stay. But Arabia as a whole is underpopulated. Modern agricultural techniques, irrigation and forestry can claim for Arabia new continents of soil. In some future the wealth of nations will rest upon labor, and men then will be an asset, and not a liability. There is already more room for Arabs in Palestine than there was before the Jews came, because there is more agriculture and industry. Whereas there were 600,000 Arabs in Palestine in 1919, there are now 1,000,000, and the Arab population has grown as the Jewish has grown. Iraq, properly cultivated and modernized, could attract millions of Arabians to a better life than they have ever known. The welfare of one people is the welfare of all people.

The Jews in Palestine have not dealt with the Arabs as our forefathers dealt with the Indians. They are not "conquering" a continent. Every bit of their land has been bought from the owners and paid for at an exorbitant price—not with whisky and colored beads. The land they bought was swampy, deforested and eroded. The Arab lands are still in the same condition. The land of the Jewish colonists, having first been purchased, has been reclaimed by a system of cooperative land settlements or colonies whose work is quite incredible.

In considering Palestine and looking at it as a Gentile, I see that there is a definite Palestinian contribution not only to the Jews but to the Gentile world. It concerns the question of Lebensraum. The antiquated ideas of the Axis nations are that the areas of the earth must be redistributed on a sort of quota system in order to assure everyone equal prosperity. But the scientist sees that prosperity does not depend upon how much soil each person or people has, but how that soil is used. The Jews, in building up Palestine, have actually created more Lebensraum for the Arabs, and not less. For they have taken parched and exhausted soil and by scientific methods of soil rebuilding and soil conservation have *created* the land on which they live. And to agriculture they have added industry and commerce. And that is a real contribution to the solving of even larger prob-

lems than the Jewish problem. It means, for us, that the earth as a whole is not over-populated but under-populated and that every nation can get its vital space without exterminating or enslaving other nations. Palestine was a land flowing with milk and honey, centuries ago, in the annals of the Old Testament. For epochs it lay waste. And it is again a land flowing with milk and honey in the hands of the Jewish colonists. If the Arabs would emulate the Jews in their soil conservation methods, they would have more land than they know what to do with, and could create a blooming Arab civilization.

It has not only been science, but the historical social sense of the Jews that has recreated Palestine. The experiment has proved what every religious society, such as the Catholic monastic system or the Mormons, learned long ago in the field of economics, namely that cooperative organization is the creator of individual prosperity. They have also proved that there is no logical cleavage between town and country. The agricultural economy of Palestine is created by urban-minded people and is the better for it. As one who has believed for years that all modern societies need new immigration, new internal immigration—of the city into the country and the country into the city, of the intellectual into the society of the worker and the worker into the world of the intellectual—I believe that the Palestine experiment would deserve to live on its merits as an example, regardless of the Jewish question.

In discussing Palestine as a homeland for the Jewish people, I am not unmindful of the continued existence of British resistance to increased immigration. When the White Paper first appeared I wrote a column about it. Its thesis is just as correct today. I said:

The British Government has announced that in the future no more land in Palestine may be purchased from Arabs by Jews or anybody else. Therewith it falls in with Hitler's blood-and-soil theory.

The British Government believes that the Palestine Jews will be loyal to Britain under all circumstances. But the Palestine Arabs are questionable. The British Government wants to conciliate them, and does so at the expense of the Palestine Jews, under the argument that Britain is fighting against racial persecution and that the most important thing for the Jews is that Britain should win the war.

Unfortunately, however, Britain establishes a policy which not only makes her noble words seem hollow but which will remain to plague

her in peace. For over-crowded Europe, many people and not only Jews, will need colonization projects when this war is over. It has needed them for years. And it happens that the Palestine colonization project is the finest example existing of what transplanted Europeans, animated by faith and idealism, can do. For Britain to come out for the theory that a race anywhere constitutes an eternal static population is simply to condemn the undeveloped portions of the earth to eternal stagnation. On that basis this continent would still belong to the Indians, and there never would have been a British Commonwealth.

The Jews and Mankind

It will need the wholehearted and united efforts of the Jewish people, along with all the other friends of progress, to prevent the translation of a Munich settlement for Palestine into a permanent document of United Nations policy. In this connection, I must say that the quarrel between Zionists and assimilationists has always seemed to me to be a quite unscientific one. Among the Jews there are plainly those who feel a national cohesion and wish to lead a Jewish existence. There are also those who don't—who feel themselves Americans wholly or British or French. It is ridiculous to divide them, or for them to divide themselves, into incompatible groups. The two ideas are *not* incompatible. People of all nations assimilate with each other. Members of all nations transfer as citizens, or as members of a culture, from one nationality to another.

So it is also with Jews. There is no concept of making an assimilated Jew go back to Palestine. But were their nationhood recognized and made corporeal on soil, as is the nationhood of all other peoples, the process of assimilation would, in my opinion, proceed in fact much more easily. For then all Jews would not feel that they have to carry the nation around in their own bosoms, but could actually leave it if they didn't profoundly care for it—leave it, where it belongs, on a *soil*.

I believe that the Jewish people, as a people, have a contribution to make to mankind. I am familiar enough with the social organization of Palestine to believe that the stone that is being rejected by Europe may become the very pillar of the temple. A people who through the vicissitudes of thousands of years has retained its identity while other peoples have perished off the earth, has in it some wisdom of survival which transcends mere

happenstance. Its recognition of the unique God, the creator; its religion of righteousness, truth, and charity; its emphasis on the social nature of the family; its respect for intellect which also leads it to place the scholar and teacher above the millionaire in esteem—all of these qualities of mind, all this accumulation of social experience under persecution and suffering contain the elements for the building of a great civilization. A great civilization is not necessarily a large state. It is a state based on the soundest rules, the deepest fellowship.

I have often thought of the Jewish concept of the Messiah.

To us, Jesus Christ is the Messiah. But Christ can only save mankind through mankind. He is not only a Person—a divine Person—but a mind, a concept, that will recreate the world. The Messiah is in us—in all of us—when we put our talents and wisdom to work to demonstrate to the world how a social order can be created in which there is freedom and order, individual rights and community well-being.

I believe in the Jewish people, as I believe in all peoples. I am not a Jew. If a Jew does not believe in his own people, as a people, then he is less a Jew than I.

I have heard even Jews say, "Why should a Jew interest me more than a Pole? They, too, are suffering."

I always ask such Jews what they are actually doing about the Poles. I always find that they are doing nothing beyond what any American may do. They are not doing as much about the Poles as the Polish-Americans.

Every American is fighting for the Poles and the Czechs. Every American is fighting for the restoration of the Polish state, for the restoration of its government, with the power of defense, with the power to coin money and raise loans and to take a hundred other measures for the rehabilitation of the Polish people.

The Jewish people are not so fortunate. Some day, I hope and believe they will be. But in stark reality, the future of the Jews as individuals and as a people depends largely upon the Jews and Christians of America. The largest number of Jews in the world lived in Europe. The next largest number lived in North America. The first community would have been utterly lost except for the second community.

Jews are believers in the prophets of Israel, who through every vicissitude understood and preached that misfortune and disaster are but the invitations of God to repentance. Their religion teaches them the inexorable

that all sins against God and nature are punished in due time, as does our religion which we conceive as the fulfillment of the Jewish prophecy. But the Christian religion derives its sublimity from the concept of God's love and mankind as a universal fellowship. Yet under the cloak of that, the loftiest ideal yet born, man persecutes and degrades his brothers and sometimes, alas, even in Christ's name. No part of the Christian world can wholly wash its hands of Hitler's crimes against the Jews. For if there had not been anti-Semitism in all societies, if Hitler had not known that everywhere there would have been some to applaud him, he would never have dared undertake his plan of extermination. The salvation of the Jews must come, therefore, in part, as an act of repentance from the Christian world. This involves, I believe, recognition of the right of the Jewish people to create a civilization like all other peoples, provided they create it in the framework of a cooperative law-abiding world.

I speak as a Christian who dreams an ancient Jewish and Christian dream, that the nations of the world may one day be gathered into a single world, as free men and free nations, acknowledging the sovereignty above them all of a single law under God. I conceive the world of the future, if we are not all to perish at each other's hands, as an hierarchical structure—the modern phrase, a pluralistic society—a House of Many Mansions, in which all will be securely at home, as persons, nations, and cultures. Each nation will have its own room in that house, and its own garden to tend, provided it does not abuse the earth and its resources. People will be free to move about in that House and change their rooms. But before that can come, everyone must have the status of a room.

The great Christian socialist and Italian patriot of the Risorgimento, Mazzini, said in the last century, "I love my country because I love the *idea* of country. What I covet for my people I covet for *all* people." It is in that sense that I understand and sympathize with the passion of the long dispersed Jews for their newly established national home.

And a suggestion has recently been made by Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick, namely that the New League of Nations be established this time in the Holy City of three great religions, Jerusalem, which lies on the very crossroads of the earth—that in this seat of empire and conflict be established the capital of the world, the Mansion of the Many Mansions. Who knows—this, too, may come.

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